



COVER SHEET

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5 SOUTH BRISBANE

Selected views of Case Study Area.



IMAGES of SOUTH BRISBANE

(Photographer: Danny O'Hare 2000, unless noted otherwise)

1. Former South Brisbane Town Hall
2. South Brisbane from the northside; Torbrek as landmark
3. Mollison Street, West End: old and new – conflict or contrast?
4. Brisbane CBD skyline from Dornoch Terrace, Highgate Hill Lookout (Jan Seto 1999)
5. Vietnamese Shops, West End
6. Hellenic House, West End
7. Queensland Performing Arts Centre from northside
8. Stefan's Needle from Musgrave Park with Randall's Studio in foreground (Jan Seto 1999)

5 SOUTH BRISBANE CASE STUDY

by Danny O'Hare

The structure of the following South Brisbane case study report is the same as the other case studies and comprises five major sections:

- (6) **DEFINING THE CASE STUDY AREA**
- (7) **UNDERSTANDING THE CULTURAL CONTEXT OF THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE**
(including a chronology, a description of the current cultural landscapes and applying the Broad Cultural Landscape Categories)
- (8) **DETERMINING VALUABLE CULTURAL HERITAGE LANDSCAPES**
(including multiple readings – Thematic Histories, Australian Heritage Commission, World Views, Queensland Heritage Act – Landscape Assessment, and a **STATEMENT OF CULTURAL VALUES**).
- (9) **UNDERSTANDING THE MANAGEMENT CONTEXT**
(including the Issues of Concern, Searching for Management Pathways – Key Management Values, Management Considerations and Objectives, and finally, **MANAGEMENT PROPOSALS**).
- (10) **A SUMMARY OF FINDINGS**

DEFINING THE CASE STUDY AREA

The urban case study area occupies the 'peninsula' bounded by the Brisbane River immediately south of the Brisbane city centre. The area includes the whole of the 4101 postcode area, containing South Brisbane, West End, Highgate Hill and Hill End. In recognition of historical interconnections with Woolloongabba and Dutton Park, the southern and eastern boundaries of the case study have not been impermeably defined. The area is notionally bordered to the south by Princess St and the railway line from Dutton Park Station to Ipswich Road; to the east by Ipswich Road from the railway line to and including Brisbane Cricket Ground; and to the north-east by Vulture Street from Brisbane Cricket Ground to the Captain Cook Bridge. This area has been known as South Brisbane since early European settlement, but the name West End is being increasingly used for wider areas of South Brisbane in the 1990s.

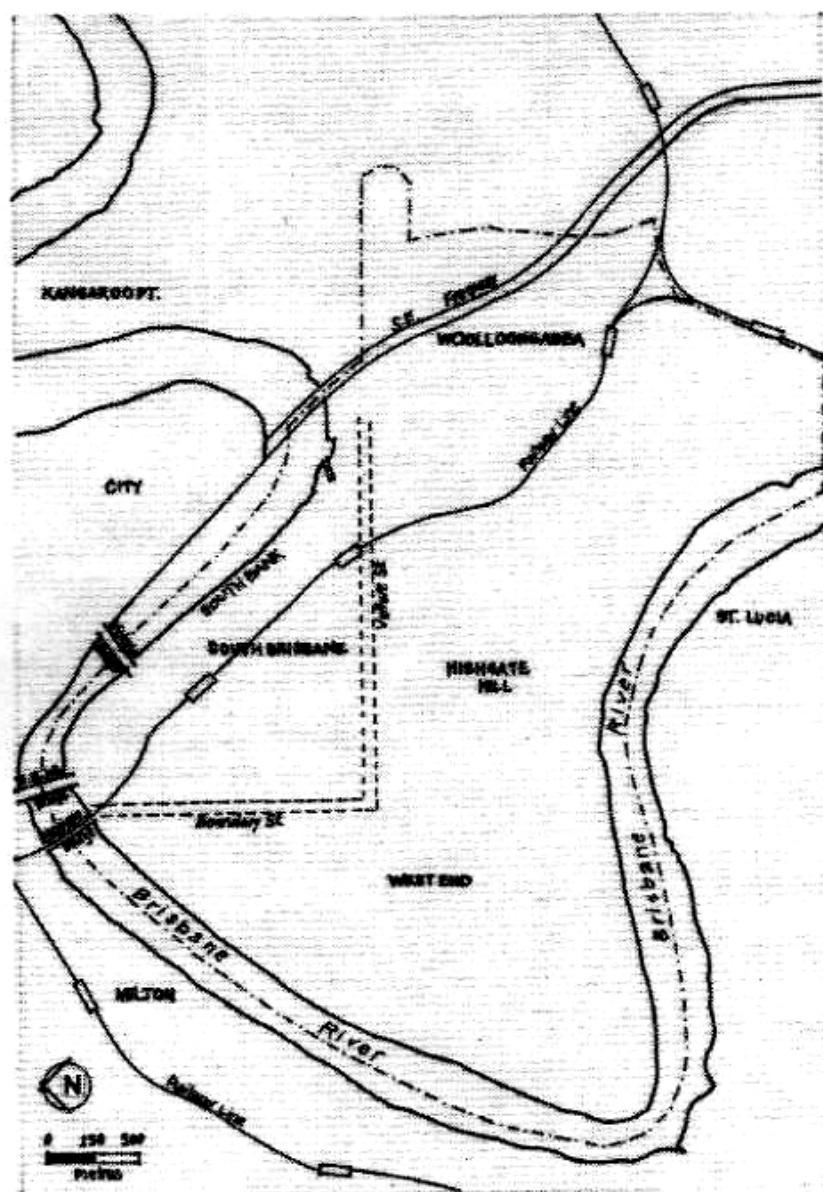


Figure 5.1: MAP OF SOUTH BRISBANE CASE STUDY AREA

Source: Derived from *Brisbane 2000 Refidex*, Brisbane: UBD.

UNDERSTANDING THE CULTURAL CONTEXT of the Cultural Landscape of South Brisbane

This chronology for the South Brisbane Cultural Landscape contains key eras and events in the local history of the study area and is generally based on BCC 1993a, 1993b and other sources as noted. The events are related to the 5 'meta-themes' (called CT themes here) identified in Report 2: Thematic Study and other topics as necessary.

Table 5.1: CHRONOLOGY

EVENTS	THEMES
<p>Pre 1825 The Aboriginal Presence</p> <p>South side of the Brisbane River was occupied by the Coorparoo clan of the Turrbal people (Steele 1985). The study area "was shared and travelled through by all of the adjacent Moreton Bay tribes" (BCC 1993a). Bora ground on hill near present Merton Rd. Favourite swimming places were the large Corolla lagoon adjacent to present Brisbane Cricket Ground and the sandy beach on South Brisbane Reach at present Kurilpa Point (ibid). This point was the main point for swimming across the River (Clarke c1849, in Steele 1984:132). Stanley St and Montague Rd follow original aboriginal pathways (BCC 1993a).</p> <p>Moreton Bay penal settlement established at Redcliffe 1824. Oxley explores Brisbane River.</p>	<p>Marginal history (CT theme)</p> <p>Coming of the Europeans; Moreton Bay Settlement (Fitzgerald 1982).</p>
<p>1825-1842 Convict settlement</p> <p>Penal settlement relocated to "North Brisbane" 1825 for better anchorage, agricultural prospects & security against native attack. Convicts cleared flat land in Sth Brisbane for grain crops to feed the colony – these were abandoned in 1830 following conflicts with Aborigines. Timber from the south bank exported to Sydney throughout the 1830s.</p>	<p>Peopling the land (Blake 1996). Land & resources (Fitzgerald) development theme (CT theme) Marginal history (CT theme)</p>
<p>1840s-1850s European 'free settlement'</p> <p>South Brisbane settlement established due to (i) location at crossing point for land transport from Ipswich and Darling Downs; (ii) suitability as a port; & (iii) proximity to North Brisbane administrative centre (BCC 1993a).</p> <p>1842 Russell St ferry main means of river crossing (until 1870s).</p> <p>1842 Rectangular grid survey pattern established. 36 "town" lots sold in Sydney. Whole town area sold by 1860s.</p> <p>Farming estates on rich river flats.</p> <p>1843 Boundary and Vulture Streets delineated as town boundary.</p> <p>1846 John Davidson establishes an orchard and is granted exclusive rights to sell water from waterhole.</p> <p>1840s Prosperity as service centre for pastoral industry.</p> <p>1845 Hunter River Steam Navigation Co builds wharf & store.</p>	<p>Pattern of development</p> <p>Building settlements & dwellings (Blake 1996)</p> <p>Land & resources</p> <p>Development theme</p>

<p>1850 South Brisbane becomes a pre-eminent commercial centre, with 5 wharves handling 80% of all goods imported and exported through the port.</p> <p>Dominance is threatened by the siting of Customs House on Town Reach, North Brisbane and the opening of alternative roads bypassing South Brisbane. Residential popularity remains due to attractive ridge sites and proximity to employment.</p> <p>1850s AJ Hockings' "Roseville" nursery established (on riverfront land in Hill End Rd – present Montague Rd) supplies much of the district & remains the biggest in the State until c1900. Later becomes a councillor and MLA</p>	<p>(CT)</p> <p>climate and development themes (CT)</p>
<p>1860s-1890s Booms and Municipal Government</p> <p>1870s Larger estates are subdivided to accommodate fourfold population increase to >4000 1861-71. More substantial houses, business premises, and some community buildings are erected, including Wesleyan, Presbyterian, Lutheran and Church of England.</p> <p>1881 Population exceeds 8000. Dry dock opens – also used as a competition swimming pool (Longhurst nd).</p> <p>c1885 Woolloongabba coal wharves & associated rail link opened.</p> <p>1880s Boom decade in Queensland. Sth Brisbane population trebles. Sth Brisbane Station opens as major terminus for suburban and country passengers, attracting further industry and commerce. Stanley St develops as a major centre of retailing, banks, light industry.</p> <p>Social elite build large houses on elevated sites and flat land is filled by workers cottages. Residential land subdivision extends outside original town boundary.</p> <p>1885 Undue Subdivision of Land Act 1885 prevents the continuation of small lot subdivision (typified by the West End Estate bounded by Vulture, Boundary, Hardgrave & Granville Streets) and terrace house development (Edmondstone & Browning Streets).</p> <p>Development of social and cultural facilities including churches, libraries, halls, public and private schools. Major manufacturing established on the farming flats, including Sth Brisbane Gas Works, West End Brewery and Thomas Dixon's shoe factory.</p> <p>1888 Sth Brisbane Town Council established. Civic precinct established around Stanley & Vulture St intersection (Town Hall, Post Office, Rail Station, Fire Station).</p> <p>1891 Sth Brisbane houses more of Brisbane's elite than any other suburb.</p>	<p>Development theme (CT)</p> <p>Climate theme (CT)</p> <p>Building settlements (Fitzgerald)</p>
<p>1890s-1920s Depression, Floods, Expansion and Decline</p> <p>1893 Banks collapse & Depression begins.</p> <p>Major floods destroy Victoria Bridge and Indooroopilly rail bridge, bringing both positive and negative social and economic impacts. Houses swept away on riverfront, to be replaced by further industry and Orleigh Park. Depression and floods lead to permanent decline of South Brisbane as a major centre (Fitzgerald 1985).</p> <p>1897 Victoria Bridge reopens. Electric tramways foster residential expansion & establishment of local centres in Boundary-Vulture Streets, Gladstone & Hardgrave Rd, & Hill End.</p>	<p>Climate theme (CT)</p>

c1900 Arrival of social revolutionary political refugees from Tzarist Russia, late 19th – early 20 th century (Evans 2000).	Marginal history (CT)
1900s-1920s Population reaches 25000 in 1900. Further population growth to 40000 by 1925, not accompanied by significant expansion in housing stock (BCC 1993b). Plague rats (1900,1922) & influenza epidemic (1919) raise health concerns of inner-city living.	
pre-WWI First significant wave of Greek immigrants. Hector Vasyli Memorial (erected later) on southern abutment of Victoria Bridge signifies Greek numbers & standing in community	Marginal history (CT)
1903 Town Council becomes City of South Brisbane. Extensive upgrading of utilities & services during following decade.	
1917 Ryan Labor Government opens State Fish Markets at southern end of Victoria Bridge (moved to Colmslie 1968).	
1919 Anti-Russian riot at Russian Workers' Hall, Merivale St.	Marginal history (CT)
1920s Industrial expansion in Montague Rd and other areas due to cheaper land relative to Brisbane. Large houses begin to be divided into flats & boarding houses.	Marginal history
1925 Amalgamation of 17 city/town/shire councils into the Brisbane Metropolitan City Council (includes South Brisbane)	
1925 Brisbane State High School opens in Musgrave Park site.	Education
1925-1940s Decline and World War II	
Shipping relocates downstream, dominated by Hamilton wharves by 1940s, Story Bridge (1938) and Captain Cook Bridge (1974) divert passing trade.	
1920s-1940s Entertainment facilities developed to serve whole of Brisbane, eg Rialto, Trocadero dance hall, Newtown Dance Palais, Cremorne Theatre popular as a dance hall in WWII.	Leisure theme (CT)
1942 US Military occupy Cumbookepa as their base for the Pacific campaign in WWII; US Military Police occupy former Sth Brisbane Town Hall. After the arrival of American military in 1942, with the segregation of black servicemen to the south of the River, "South Brisbane was finally done for; no-one respectable would ever live there again" (Malouf 1976:31).	Marginal history (CT)
1940s-1980s Postwar decline – sociocultural diversification	
1940s "South Brisbane then was already disreputable, too close to the derelict, half-criminal life of Stanley Street where the abos [sic] were and to Musgrave Park with its swaggies and metho drinkers" (Malouf 1986:4).	Marginal history (CT)
1945-1980s Rise of popularity of suburban living. Low property values and rents attract postwar immigrants, laying foundation for area's later eminence as a multicultural community. Greek churches, a mosque (Princhester St) and community facilities developed by the various immigrant groups. Greek delis, Vietnamese and Chinese restaurants, bakeries and grocery stores established. Creative businesses, community organisations and advocacy groups established in low rent office space. Aboriginal boarding houses, hostels, and housing cooperatives developed throughout the area.	

Further community infrastructure developed in Musgrave Park, including public swimming pool.	
BCC incrementally transforms Stanley St wharves area into Clem Jones Park 1950s-1980s.	Leisure theme (CT)
1967 Opening of the Aboriginal Missions following referendum: aborigines from all over Qld use Musgrave Park as a meeting place.	Marginal history (CT)
Early 1970s Woolloongabba severed by South-East Freeway.	
1978 South Brisbane Terminus Station becomes obsolete due to Merivale Rail Bridge.	Development theme (CT)
1980s-2000 Regeneration and gentrification	
Redevelopment of obsolete wharves and associated areas provides catalysts for regeneration and gentrification:	Development theme (CT)
1982→ Queensland Cultural Centre progressively opens (Qld Art Gallery, Performing Arts Centre, Qld Museum, State Library)	
1982. 1988 Musgrave Park rallies attract international attention to Indigenous issues during Commonwealth Games and Expo 88.	Marginal history (CT)
1983 State Government legislates to acquire Expo 88 land.	
1988 World Expo 88 raises Brisbane's profile locally, Australia-wide and internationally.	
1992 South Bank Parklands open on former Expo site.	
1994 Convention and Exhibition Centre open adjacent to South Bank.	
1980s-1990s Loss of boarding houses and other cheap rental accommodation forces many low income residents out to poorly serviced outer suburbs such as the Logan area. Rents for two bedroom flats rose 62% 1987-1988 (BCC 1993b:30). Community initiated housing cooperatives form in response. Hill End and West End described as both "trendy" and "shabby" in Manfred Jurgensen's 1987 novel, <i>A Difficult Love</i> (cited in Gostrand 1988:65).	Marginal history (CT)
1990s Retail rents increase, due to the development of "cafe society" in Boundary St.	Development theme (CT)
Tourist development and high-rise residential development near the River and Musgrave Park. Establishment of large backpacker hostels in the Vulture Street area, and related businesses such as car rental and internet cafes.	
1995 BCC develops Kurilpa Park at Kurilpa Point, near William Jolly Bridge, a popular camping place for homeless people.	Climate & Leisure theme (CT)
1997 Kurilpa Community Protection Society formed to oppose Brisbane City Council and developer visions for the area. "In 10 years West End will be the most vibrant area of Brisbane without a doubt. . . it will outperform every other inner city area. You will find that the unemployed people renting here now will be gone. The higher rent will force the ratbags out" (Peter Freeman, sales manager for West End Central, <i>The Courier Mail</i> , 24/7/99 - cited in Laver 1999:1) - Laver calls this "social cleansing". Use of West End name for South Brisbane sites indicates the newfound prestige of formerly downmarket West End.	Marginal history (CT)
1999 BCC leases former Sth Brisbane Town Hall to Somerville House school.	

CURRENT CULTURAL LANDSCAPE DESCRIPTION

South Brisbane/West End occupies a peninsula within a large bend of the Brisbane River, opposite the Brisbane city centre. It is one of the earliest areas settled by Europeans in Queensland, and is near the centre of the most densely populated region of the State.

Prior to European settlement, the South Brisbane peninsula was known as Kurilpa, "the place of rats" (BCC 1993a). This name recognised the many bush rats that inhabited the lush vegetation of the area. The name Kurilpa has become increasingly used in the West End area in the 1990s. Simultaneously, as the area has gentrified, the name West End is used colloquially and in real estate promotion to refer to a wider area of South Brisbane than the area officially defined as West End by the Council and the Post Office.

Topography is dominated by a prominent ridge with its highest point in Highgate Hill. Dornoch Terrace, towards the south of the case study area, runs along this ridge. To the south of this main ridge are cliffs and high riverbanks at the eastern end of the St Lucia Reach. The remaining river banks are adjoined by flat land. These flat areas contained swamps and lagoons at the time of European settlement, most notably in the areas now occupied by South Bank and the Brisbane Cricket Ground. A secondary east-west ridge is prominent just south of Vulture St in Highgate Hill. A major spur runs north along Hardgrave Rd and north-north-east to cross the northern section of Boundary St. The only significant remnant of the original lush bushland is in a privately owned large gully in the vicinity of Derby Street, Highgate Hill. Other significant trees are the cultural plantings in the public parks, private gardens, and a small number of street trees. The most significant areas of parkland are South Bank, Musgrave Park, Davies Park and Orleigh Park.

The natural topography is overlain with an irregular grid street pattern determined by, and still dominated by, the earliest roads and streets: Stanley St, Montague Rd, Boundary

St, Vulture St, Ipswich Rd, Annerley Rd and Gladstone Rd. The two main grids are separated by the original town boundary along Boundary and Vulture Streets. Five-way intersections have resulted where the two main grids intersect and where the survey intersects with original bullock tracks. This has created wedge shaped blocks and interesting built forms in the more densely built areas (BCC 1993b). The landform has only slightly influenced the street pattern, eg Dornoch Tce runs along the main ridge.

North of the main ridgeline, the subdivision pattern and built form are denser than in most of Brisbane's suburbs. 1960s-90s high-rise residential flat buildings are dotted along the Dornoch Tce ridgeline and, more recently (1990s) near the River adjacent to the Captain Cook Bridge. High-rise buildings on the hills and ridges accentuate the natural topography, while those near the River hide it. Much of the area is developed with detached houses, ranging from tiny workers cottages, through 'suburban' scale housing, to very large houses in large gardens. There are many residential flat buildings, many dating back to the 1930s, and mostly no more than two storeys in height. A wall of large 1990s buildings in South Bank hides the relationship between the River and the hills (Exhibition Centre, Ridges Hotel, Theiss offices), impacting on views to and from the River. Other large buildings in the area include the industrial buildings along Montague Rd, the former Tristrams cordial factory, several large churches, the Queensland Cultural Centre, the Mater Hospital, Brisbane State High School, St Laurences School, Boggo Road Gaol and the Gabba (Brisbane Cricket Ground). Built-up main streets are prominent in Boundary St, West End, and Stanley St and the Five-Ways at Woolloongabba. Several smaller main street areas were established during the tramway era.

The diverse built form reflects the diversity of land uses, the incremental development and redevelopment of the area over a long period, and the diversity of people living in the area and visiting it for work, leisure, education and other activities. There is a representative range of building styles from the 1880s-1930s, with a sprinkling of 1950s, 1960s and more recent buildings (BCC 1993b). Built form and

character are recognised as "unpretentious and extremely varied, with many buildings showing the effects of numerous alterations and additions" (BCC 1993b:20). The style and cost of new buildings and alterations in the 1990s indicate the gentrification trend. The range of businesses and community buildings, their names and signs, indicate the presence of significant immigrant populations in the area. The immigrant presence in the residential areas is often manifested stylistically in newer and renovated houses, and in the growing of vegetables in front gardens. Improvisation is a noticeable feature of many houses, for example the closing in of the area beneath the main house for additional living space – often in combination with garaging, so that families can be seen dining or watching television alongside the family car. This characteristic is particularly noticeable in West End.

The presence of a significant number of Aboriginal organisations, premises and services, especially in West End, Woolloongabba and South Brisbane, indicate the long association of these people with the area and their persistence within one of Queensland's most transformed and densely settled areas.

The peninsular character is reinforced by the small number of bridges linking the South Brisbane area to the north bank of the river. In eight kilometres of river frontage, there are only four bridges, all within the 2.5km section opposite Brisbane's city centre. Only two of these bridges existed prior to 1970. Cross-river links will be boosted by the completion of a pedestrian and cycle bridge from South Bank to Gardens Point in 2001. Major transport lines bisecting the area are the southern railway line and the South-East Freeway. The completion of the South-East Busway, in 2000, will add to this effect. The northern and western borders of the study area are the main areas that cater to people from outside the area as well as to locals: Heavy, light and high-tech industries between Montague Rd and the Toowong/Milton Reach, the Queensland Cultural Centre, Convention/Exhibition Centre and South Bank along the South Brisbane Reach. The area has always contained places of employment. In the final

decade of the twentieth century it has also taken on an important metropolitan and regional role as a centre of consumption and leisure. The Cultural Centre, Convention/Exhibition Centre, South Bank and the development of Boundary St as a café precinct display this regional recreational role to a greater extent than did the theatres and dance halls of the 1940s. Key aspects of the South Brisbane peninsula cultural landscape are shown on Figure 5.2.

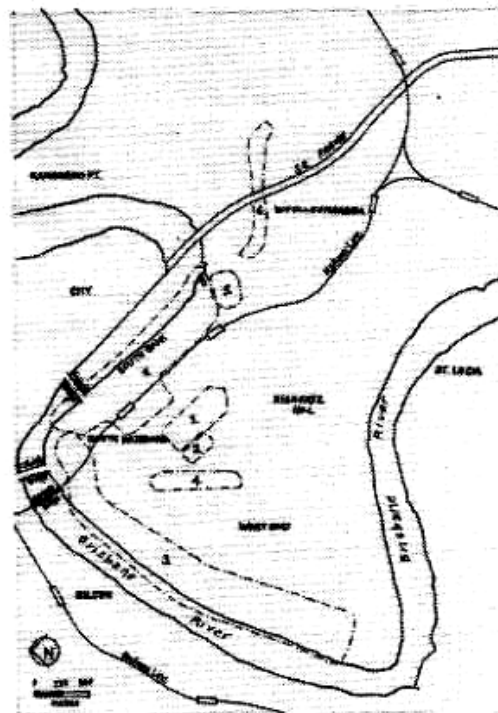


Figure 5.2: ASPECTS OF SOUTH BRISBANE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

BROAD CULTURAL LANDSCAPE CATEGORIES applied to South Brisbane

Landscapes of Nature

The strongest sense of the natural landscape is imparted by the hilly topography and the embrace of the River, which makes the area a peninsula.

The pre-1825 landscape of lush rainforest, pine forest and wetland vegetation was largely cleared for farming and settlement by the end of the nineteenth century (BCC 1993b). Small pockets of this landscape remain, particularly in a bushland gully south of Dornoch Terrace in the vicinity of Derby Street.

Landscapes of Settlement

South Brisbane developed at an important river crossing point for Aborigines and early European settlers. South Bank area was one of Brisbane's most significant port areas in 19th century. The inner-suburban peninsula is extremely diverse in land use and built form. Has had a mixture of elite and low cost housing for most of its history. Large houses on hills and workers' cottages on flatter land. Industrial foci on south bank (declined after 1920s) and Montague Rd/ Milton Reach areas. Civic and administrative hub developed around the intersection of Stanley St and Vulture St 1888-1925.

Since 1920s, low property values and rents have attracted immigrants, social activists and creative people, laying foundation for area's later eminence as a dynamic multicultural community. Aboriginal boarding houses, hostels, and housing cooperatives have been developed throughout the area.

Expo 88 and the development of South Bank, the Convention and Exhibition Centre and the Queensland Cultural Centre have been catalysts for regeneration and gentrification in the 1990s. Tourist development and high-rise residential development near Captain Cook Bridge; tourist development near Musgrave Park. Establishment of large backpacker

hostels in the Vulture Street area, and related businesses such as car rental and Internet cafes.

Landscapes of Enterprise

Wharves (Stanley Wharf, Musgrave Wharf, Brisbane Milling Co. Wharf, Adelaide Steamship Wharf, Railway Wharves) lined the southern bank of the South Brisbane Reach from Victoria Bridge to Kangaroo Point cliffs from c1840 until they were progressively cleared for parkland from the 1950s-1980s (BCC 1993b). 1881 dry dock, South Brisbane (now part of Maritime Museum), boosted economic activity.

Heavy and light industry lined much of the southern bank of Milton Reach and Montague Road during the late 19th and most of the 20th century. Australia's postwar industrial development programs and the arrival of a large local population of Greek immigrants supported expansion of these industries after World War 2. Changed national industry policy by the 1990s has coincided with the development of new industries on some of this land, eg information technology, professional consultancies, library storage, and the arts. Remaining major industries include Pioneer Concrete and UDF/Pauls Dairy. The former is significant to the development of Brisbane, and in using the river as a transport route and, until 1998, a quarry (ie dredging). The dairy processing industry continues a significant connection with the historical role of dairying as a major rural industry in south-east Queensland.

In the late 20th century, a new enterprise landscape is developing near the northern end of Montague Road with tourist accommodation, private student accommodation, and plans for major arts developments by State Government.

West End has a metropolitan, national and to some extent international reputation as a centre of enterprise in the informal sector and alternative lifestyle/economies. This is related to its long-term role as a locality inhabited by marginalised groups and social activists. This aspect can be seen in the publication *Neighbourhood News*, in community groups

such as co-housing and community gardeners, and in premises such as Emma's Bookshop, Justice Products, the Dorothy Day House, the Grassroots Centre, the non-mainstream St Mary's Church and its social justice arm, Project Micah, the prominence of anarchists in the community, and in the formation of the Kurilpa Community Protection Society in 1997.

Late 1990s: West End as a development site for luxury apartments, shopping centre redevelopment, home renovation, and conversion of boarding houses back to single residences for the returning elite.

Landscapes of Communication

Brisbane River was the first highway for European settlement. South Brisbane had flat land and low river bank suitable for development of significant wharves and waterfront industries. Stanley St and Montague Rd are said to follow aboriginal pathways to the sandy beach where indigenous people swam across to the north side of the river (BCC1993b:23).

Bridges have been significant, with the first, wooden, Victoria Bridge opened in 1865, destroyed by borers in 1867, rebuilt in 1874, washed away in the 1893 flood, rebuilt in 1896 (Evans 1982), and again rebuilt in 1969. Grey Street Bridge (now William Jolly Bridge) built in 1932, increased through traffic and improved road access for South Brisbane/West End industry. The erection of the Merivale railway Bridge in 1978 connected the interstate, southern and eastern suburban railway networks to Roma Street, removing the role of South Brisbane Station as a terminus.

The South East Freeway and Captain Cook Bridge, opened in 1974, was a focus for conflict as it cut through residential and commercial areas in Woolloongabba on the edge of the study area.

Opposition to bridge proposals in the 1980s-90s has reinforced (and been reinforced by) the perception of West End as a "peninsula". In the late twentieth century, the scarcity of cross-river connections contrasts with the

connectivity provided by early twentieth century ferry links to St Lucia, Toowong, Milton and North Brisbane (Lawson 1973). Only the St Lucia and North Brisbane city links remain, while Ferry Road provides a clue to the location of the Toowong ferry wharf. Meanwhile, the River itself has regained its role of transport corridor, with the introduction of fast City Cats in the mid-1990s.

The 190 and 191 bus routes (known as the 177 and 178 respectively until 1998) still follow the 177 and 178 tram routes established around 1900 (Lawson 1973), which followed the routes of the earlier privately operated horse-drawn trams (Roberts, BHG 1999). Community opposition to light rail proposals in the late 1990s contrasts to the welcoming of such proposals by the development industry (numerous articles in *Neighbourhood News* and *Southern News*).

Landscapes of Water Management

Filling of numerous lagoons for development in 19th century, following centuries/millennia of use for food and recreation by the indigenous inhabitants. Water reservoir at highest point of Gladstone Rd, Highgate Hill.

Landscapes of Experimentation

See Landscapes of Enterprise, above, re the informal sector.

Since WWII, West End has been an informal landscape of social experimentation as a reception point for immigrants, particularly Greeks, Chinese and Vietnamese. The low rents and the availability of work from the 1950s-1970s have been significant, together with the establishment of formal and informal support networks.

Torbreck (completed 1960) was Queensland's first high-rise apartment development. Predating the introduction of Group Title legislation, it used "Company Title".

Landscapes of Strategic Interest

(1) Boundary Street and Vulture Street east of Boundary Street were two of the four

boundaries surrounding the original town plan of Brisbane by 1843 (BCC 1993b:23). These streets formed a curfew zone, beyond which the Aborigines were required to retreat each evening (Huie 1998).

(2) Musgrave Park was a site of Aboriginal resistance and containment as Brisbane and South Brisbane grew. In 1999, the granting of \$5m and a lease over part of the park for the establishment of an Aboriginal cultural centre partly recognises the significance of the park to local Aborigines. This followed a 15 year campaign by a local Aboriginal group, often contested by Brisbane City Council and Greek community interests (*Southern News* 16 Sept 1999:1). The granting of a lease rather than recognising native title or granting freehold title indicates that the area will remain contested. The Turrbal Association Inc disputes the right of the Musgrave Park Aboriginal group to lease the land or build a cultural centre, claiming that the proposal ignores Turrbal ownership and the massacre of Turrbal people on the site (*Southern News* 16 Sept 1999, 1).

(3) The Brisbane River was a racial curfew line during World War 2. Black American soldiers were required to stay south of the river after dark: "the city was segregated to propitiate American fears of race riots" (Malouf 1986:8).

Landscapes of Leisure

The River has been a recreational focus since the early days of Brisbane. Facilities such as rowing clubs, on the riverbank in South Brisbane and West End, support this water-based recreation.

Since the 1970s, the riverfront areas of South Brisbane/ West End have been transforming from landscapes of production to landscapes of consumption. The most significant event was the Bjelke Petersen Government's resumption of 42 hectares of South Brisbane in 1984 for the staging of Expo88. This caused much conflict, particularly over the eviction and relocation of tenants from the many boarding houses and other low rent accommodation in South Brisbane. Expo88 is credited with changing Brisbanites'

perceptions of their city and the potential of social life in public spaces. The development of South Bank Parklands on the Expo site provides for a wide variety of interests, attracting people with money to spend and those who enjoy the place without having to spend.

Brisbane City Council and the State Government have steadily transformed the riverfront from an industrial waterfront to a landscape of leisure since the 1970s. Existing parks (Orleigh and Davies Parks) have been connected to South Bank through the acquisition of former industrial land to create Riverside Drive (1960s-1970s?) and Kurilpa Park (1995).

Since the opening of South Bank in 1992, Boundary Street (West End) has transformed from a traditional inner suburban main street into one of Brisbane's prime café culture strips – from 3 coffee shops in 1992 to around 20 in 1999 (personal observation). Smaller local shopping centres, at stops on the former 177 tram route (in Hardgrave Rd and Hill End) have also become centres for cafes and restaurants.

Clothing and other warehouses, an important part of the 20th century industrial landscape, have been absorbed into the leisure landscape in the 1990s through the popularity of warehouse shopping tours aimed at women from Brisbane's suburbs and regional areas.

Landscapes associated with Particular Communities

Musgrave Park and Aborigines: "once an aboriginal burial ground" (Malouf 1985).

Musgrave Park as centre of ATSI protest during Commonwealth Games 1982 and World Expo 88, and site for annual NAIDOC celebration. The Cherbourg link: everybody comes to West End for funerals. Aboriginal boarding houses and housing associations.

West End as a "Greek community": front vegetable gardens; Greek Orthodox Church and community centre; Greek Club ("a whole block of Greek places" (Tsimpikas 2000); Cyprus Club (renamed West End Club

c1997); Greek Evangelical Church; childcare centres; Acropolis Club; entrepreneurs; annual Panyiri food and culture festival in Musgrave Park. Greek refugees arrived from Asia Minor crisis c1925 and established a "Greek cell" in Thomas, Princhester, Corbett, Granville Streets area (Castan, BHG 1999).

There are present distinct Vietnamese and Chinese businesses and house styles.

Landscapes of Symbolism

Musgrave Park is a symbol of Aboriginality and of continued resistance.

South Bank has developed is a "landscape of spectacle" (Hannigan 1998), combining fantasy and consumption.

Former Sth Brisbane Town Hall is a symbol of former local government civic pride.

The Cultural Centre is a symbol of cultural capital for Queensland/Brisbane.

Relics of Expo88 remain as symbols, eg Nepalese Pagoda and Stefan's Needle.

Late 1990s medium density and high density residential development is cited by the real estate industry as a symbol of desirable lifestyle and future wealth, and cited by other community groups as a symbol of gentrification (together with Boundary Street restaurants, hairdressers etc).

From 1979-1999, West End Markets (former Tristrans cordial factory) was symbolic as a community shopping centre and small business haven -redeveloped as a conventional shopping centre 1999-2000.

DETERMINING VALUABLE CULTURAL LANDSCAPES

The assessment of heritage significance of the cultural landscape has been undertaken by a combination of orthodox assessment methods and new methods devised by the research team. These methods were combined in a series of readings from different vantage points to determine the key valuable cultural landscapes within the case study area.

The four readings are according to:

- (A) Thematic Study of Queensland History (refer to Report 2)
- (B) Australian Heritage Commission criteria
- (C) World Views
- (D) Queensland Heritage Register

The orthodox methods include using the AHC criteria for cultural significance and reflecting on the existing places on the Queensland Heritage Register, whereas the new forms of assessment include applying the thematic histories developed for this project, and reading the landscapes through ten world views developed by the research and supplementing the AHC criteria with Criterion I - Iconic Significance.

The five key themes in the thematic study were:

- living in the tropics
- land as a focus of history
- development as prime agent of change
- perception of landscape
- marginal histories

STATEMENT OF CULTURAL VALUES

From the combined readings of the South Brisbane cultural landscape, a statement of Cultural Heritage Significance or Cultural Value was prepared.

Detailed Statement

The South Brisbane peninsula has high levels of heritage significance for both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. For *Aboriginal* people, the area has been a place of meeting between different groups both before and since European settlement. The peninsula was one of Queensland's earliest sites of intensive interaction with, and resistance to, the European settlers of the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century it has continued as a site of resistance. The continuing importance of this role is evidenced by the presence of numerous indigenous organisations and facilities in the area and, for example, the campaign to gain control of at least part of Musgrave Park in the 1980s-1990s.

The area is significant as *one of the earliest European settled areas of Queensland, and one of the State's oldest urban areas*. The area's contribution to the economic development of Brisbane as the State capital is demonstrated by: remnants of the South Brisbane port area and infrastructure; remnants of the Stanley Street commercial-retail strip; the South Brisbane Railway Station/ former terminus; the presence of a substantial industrial area close to historically affordable housing; and the development of hallmark events (Expo88) and major cultural facilities in the area in the 1980s-1990s.

The area demonstrates an important stage of the *history of local government in Brisbane* before the amalgamation into a greater Brisbane City Council in 1925. The former South Brisbane civic hub at the junction of Stanley and Vulture Streets retains its visual and symbolic importance in demonstrating South Brisbane's brief municipal history (1888-1925). The former South Brisbane Town Hall was an important administrative base supporting the Australian and US East Asian campaign in *World War II*.

The layout and built form of the peninsula contains areas that, by Brisbane/ Queensland standards, are *among the State's most densely developed inner-urban areas*. South Brisbane and West End contain built up main street commercial strips, small lot housing, some terrace housing, and a variety of forms of

residential flat buildings (including former mansions converted to boarding houses, and contemporary high rise apartment buildings that demonstrate a renewed interest in the value of proximity to the city centre and the River).

The physical diversity of the built form and land use of South Brisbane peninsula has historically been matched by *greater social diversity than has been common in most urban areas in Brisbane or Queensland*. The area is significant for its accommodation of diverse socio-economic and cultural groups throughout the twentieth century. Since World War II, West End has become increasingly known as a multicultural community with large Greek and Vietnamese populations who were attracted by low-cost housing close to employment and by the development of immigrant support networks and organisations. The religious and social facilities and businesses of these and other groups are significant in the built form of the area. The historical availability of low cost housing and commercial premises has also contributed to the area becoming well known as a centre for social activism and alternative social and environmental philosophies. Along with the Aboriginal groups, these non-mainstream groups contribute to the reputation of a contested terrain, particularly with the increasing gentrification of West End and South Brisbane in the late twentieth century.

The Brisbane River continues to play a major role in defining the study area as a *peninsula*. Despite its location adjacent to the centre of the metropolitan area, the scarcity of cross-river links has enabled the physical and perceptual characteristics of a peninsula to be maintained.

Nominated Valuable Cultural Landscape for South Brisbane

The **WHOLE PENINSULA** of 'South Brisbane' is a rich and complex cultural landscape holding multiple heritage values.

Table 5.2
Reading the Cultural Landscape according to the THEMATIC STUDY (Report 2)

LANDSCAPES	DEMONSTRATING
Living in the tropics Former lagoons areas (Sth Brisbane, Woolloongabba, West End) Musgrave Park, Davies Park Main retail shopping strips (Stanley, Boundary Hardgrave, Gladstone Rd). Residential development prior to 1960s, including migrant renovations.	<i>Environmental determinism</i> The early filling of the lagoons provides significant example of early 19 th century health fear of 'tropical miasma' (Cilento 1925 cited in Sim's meta-theme paper). <i>Climate & horticulture</i> Reflecting the 19 th century move towards use of indigenous species for public planting. <i>Lifestyle & shelter</i> Initiation of shaded pedestrian footpaths in commercial areas. Characteristic Qld verandahed weatherboard houses providing transitional spaces between inside & outside, with cool spaces underneath. Improvised enclosure of subfloor areas for perceived climate comfort & economical accommodation & entertainment space for extended families.
Land as focus of history Former Sth Brisbane wharves & port area. Precincts of un-redeveloped, relatively humble, inner-city housing. Economically depressed areas. Industries related to rural production & land development	Aboriginal attachment to land (sustenance, spiritual, associational, identity). Early history of timber getting and associated shipment to Sydney. Historical economic ties with the Sth East Qld pastoral hinterland. Qld emphasis on expansion of provincial centres at expense of Brisbane. Consequently, inner suburbs did not experience as much redevelopment as in southern capitals. Evidence of characteristic lack of concern for community welfare in Qld. Paradox of later leadership by Qld Labor Governments. Demonstrating Queensland's rural dominated economy and state concerns with development
Development as prime agent of change Former wharves & port Sth Brisbane civic precinct Stanley St retail precinct Rail lines, Sth Brisbane Station, SE Freeway Sole remaining bushland gully adjoining River Qld Cultural Centre South Bank Parklands Montague Rd industrial area	Significant role of Sth Brisbane in development of city & region; role of ports in early Qld development. Role of government in development. Former importance of Sth Brisbane retailing Central role of transport infrastructure in Qld development Demonstrates that only the most difficult land to develop has remained in a "natural" state. Significance of publicly funded cultural infrastructure to prestige of the city. Development of a leisure landscape; stimulating gentrification of West End Significance of workplaces close to areas of low cost housing was influential in West End attracting so many of Qld's low post-WWII immigrant intake. Significance of industrial development in a State which has emphasised

	rural rather than industrial and urban development.
Perception of landscape <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whole peninsula • Brisbane River • "Cosmopolitan West End" 	<p>New World tabula rasa; development ethos; environmental determinism.</p> <p>Romantic ethos; ecological ethos; development ethos; symbolic landscape.</p> <p>Real estate value of multiculturalism; multiculturalism as a lifestyle commodity.</p>
Marginal histories <p>Aboriginal history</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The peninsula • Town boundary • West End & Woolloongabba area • Musgrave Park • Riverside camp (now Kurilpa Park). <p>Migrant histories</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The peninsula • Proximity of low cost housing to industrial workplaces • River as curfew line; 'south of the River' • Greek cultural precinct (Greek Orthodox Church, Greek Club, other clubs, childcare & community facilities) • Greek, Vietnamese & Chinese businesses • Serbian Orthodox Church • "Cosmopolitan West End" 	<p>Strong significance of the peninsula as a place of continuous Aboriginal association – theme of strong attachment to locality. Significant tribal gathering site pre-European invasion. Site of early conflict – Aboriginal resistance theme. Area is an example of the early destruction of a significant hunting ground & gathering area through alienation by European activities. Curfew boundaries (Boundary St/ Vulture St and River) reflect theme of European 'mindset of terror'. Continued Aboriginal resistance gives the area high heritage significance for this group.</p> <p>Occupation of the peninsula by many different migrant groups in close proximity to areas significant to Aborigines, eg Musgrave Park.</p> <p>Characteristic of Assimilation Period of Post-WWII immigration program.</p> <p>Segregation of black US troops in WWII adds weight to the area having a complex structure in terms of 'concepts of national space' (see meta-theme)</p> <p>Area reflects 3 waves of immigrants – the 1840s-60s Anglo-Celts, possibly some of the 1870s/1880s Scandinavians & post-WWII Greek & Latvian migrants. Plus 1970s Vietnamese. Chinese. Brisbane's first Lebanese Melkite Church was built in Ernest St 1929-1939 (BCC 1993a).</p> <p>Place attachment</p> <p>Cultural landscape of multiculturalism</p>

Table 5.3
Reading the Cultural Landscape according to the AUSTRALIAN HERITAGE
COMMISSION Cultural Significance Assessment Criteria

CRITERION A – Its Importance in the course, or pattern, of Australia's natural or cultural history	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brisbane River • Whole peninsula exhibits cultural diversity • West End & Woolloongabba are significant foci of Aboriginal association in Sth. East Queensland. The whole peninsula is significant for diverse immigrant association throughout the 20th century – one of Qld's most culturally diverse urban/suburban areas. • "South of the River" stigma. • South Brisbane significant in Brisbane's development as a port & industrial hub. Montague Rd industrial area is a significant industrial & employment centre, especially post-WWII.
CRITERION B – Its possession of uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of Australia's natural or cultural history	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Repeated influxes of immigrants with distinctive ways of life. Immigrant contribution to city's cultural life, eg Panyiri Greek food & culture festival. • Important urban Aboriginal centre with connections to regional Aborigines, especially Cherbourg. • Boggo Road Gaol • Important concentration of boarding houses, low cost housing (under threat). • West End noted for concentration of anarchists & alternative lifestyle devotees, organisations & meeting places.
CRITERION C – Its potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of Australia's natural or cultural history	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rich oral history (FAIRA, OPAL, Aboriginal & immigrant groups). • The Gabba (Brisbane Cricket Ground) as a significant site in a country obsessed with sport.
CRITERION D – Its importance in demonstrating the principal characteristics of: A class of Australia's natural or cultural places or environments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diversity of immigrant ways of life. • Diversity of residents simultaneously & over time: mansions on hills & workers cottages on flats; mansions converted to boarding houses/flats 1890s-1930s and back to mansions in 1990s.
CRITERION E – Its importance in exhibiting particular aesthetic characteristics valued by a community or cultural group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Orleigh, Davies & Musgrave Parks. • Stanley St 'high street' remnant between Annerley Rd & W'gabba Fiveways. • Remnant South Brisbane civic precinct (Town Hall, Library) & Cumbookepa (Somerville School/ US WWII East Asian Command HQ). • Riverside Drive jacarandas near Foggitt & Jones. • Expo site/ South Bank as a site for communal fun. • River & its relationship to hills & ridges.
CRITERION F – Its importance in demonstrating a high degree of creative or technical achievement at a particular period	None

<p>CRITERION G – Its strong or special associations with a particular community or cultural group for social, cultural or spiritual reasons</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Highly valued by Aboriginal community, since before European settlement, for spiritual, cultural & social association. Musgrave Park. <p>Strong associations with Greek community, especially the clustering of community facilities on the hill near Musgrave Park (Greek Orthodox Church, Greek Club, social clubs, childcare centre & other facilities).</p>
<p>CRITERION H – Its special association with the life or works of a person, or group of persons, of importance in Australia's natural or cultural history</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • AJ Hockings, nurseryman, councillor & MLA. • David Malouf: Edmondstone St; former OPAL maternity hospital (opp Musgrave Park); grandparents' former smallgoods store (cnr Melbourne St). • Lord Mayor Clem Jones commenced the transformation of the former wharves area to recreational space. • The transformation of the South Bank site for Expo88 is closely associated with former Premier Joh Bjelke-Petersen & Llew Edwards. • Several graduates of Brisbane State High School have made major contributions to Australian economic, social, cultural & sporting life, including Bill Hayden, stockbroker Paul Morgan, Roy Deicke (former chair of Bundaberg Sugar Co), Robin Gibson, actor Ray Barrett, Wally Lewis, Hayley Lewis (BCC 1993a). • Significant group of Robin Gibson architecture: Qld Cultural Centre.

<p>CRITERION I (Iconic significance) <i>(additional criterion devised by research team—not an AHC criterion).</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Torbreck (visual landmark, Brisbane's first company title high-rise, sought-after residence in Brisbane's art & design community) • 'Stefan's Needle' (landmark, Expo remnant, association with Stefan) • Expo88, South Bank & artificial beach. • Qld Cultural Centre. • Brisbane River; Wm Jolly and Victoria Bridges

Table 5.4
Reading the Cultural Landscapes according to WORLD VIEWS

Scientific World View:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Filling of original lagoons for property development – early scientific concerns about 'tropical miasma' • AJ Hockings nursery – early horticultural experimentations • Mater Hospital – western medical science • SE Freeway – new technology/engineering solutions (despite social costs) • Qld Museum – understanding the natural and cultural heritage • Expo88 – exhibiting the latest science, technology, industry (and culture) from around the world
Romantic World View:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Picturesque views, especially of River • Expo88 – landscape treatments, artworks, street theatre, 'café society' • David Malouf's Brisbane – memories become iconic • Greek precinct; multicultural businesses associated with food & dining – the interest in exotic cultures
Nationalist / Post Colonial World View:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expo88 – every nation has its own pavilion and competition was strong for the 'best' (most popular = New Zealand) • Queensland Cultural Centre; Conservatorium – culture as part of national pride
Colonial World View:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Boundary & Vulture Streets as town boundary – reminders of early colonial settlement rules
Capitalist World View:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Former Wharves & port area – vital component of development and expansion in State and city • Hockings' nursery site – very successful commercial enterprise • Thomas Dixon Centre (former shoe factory) – commerce. • Industrial/ warehouse area between Montague Rd & River. • Expo88, Convention & Exhibition Centre – commercial realities of exhibitions as effective sales promotions • Gentrification: café society; new apartment developments – all commerce for new and emerging markets
Socialist World View:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presence of community organisations, co-operatives • Aboriginal community organisations & housing associations – operating under cooperative/communal ownership and responsibility • Trades Hall – relocated from Spring Hill, the bastion of the Australian Trade Workers' Unions • Emma's Bookshop – alternative publications, often with strong left-wing political agendas
Ecological / Sustainable World View:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Justice Products; Grassroots Centre – urban environmentalism • Institute for Social Ecology, anarchist presence • Cessation of River dredging – after years of disturbed water and the resultant loss of riverine biodiversity
Western Christian World View:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Churches, West End Mission, Greek Evangelical Church. • Mater Hospital – operated by the Catholic Church.
Aboriginal Spiritual World View:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • West End & Woolloongabba as traditional meeting places • Merton Road bora ring site

Table 5.5
Reading the Cultural Landscapes according to the
QUEENSLAND HERITAGE ACT 1992

The Queensland Heritage Register lists 14 places in the suburb of South Brisbane, seven (7) in West End, and eleven (11) in Woolloongabba. The majority of these places are single buildings for residential, commercial, community or public use. There are also listings for industrial sites, transport infrastructure and groups of houses and commercial buildings. The following table summarises the criteria and places recognised as having cultural heritage significance in the South Brisbane study area.

Queensland Heritage Act CRITERIA	PLACES LISTED ON THE REGISTER OF THE NATIONAL ESTATE
Criterion (a) the place is important in demonstrating the evolution or pattern of Queensland's history	<p>civic</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Boggo Road Gaol: No 2 Division • Davies Park, West End • Former Woolloongabba Police Station • Former Woolloongabba Post Office • Richard Randall's Studio, Musgrave Park • South Brisbane Library (former) • South Brisbane Railway Easement • South Brisbane Railway Station • South Brisbane Town Hall (former) • Victoria Bridge (former) abutment <p>commercial</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Allgas Building, South Brisbane • Broadway Hotel, Woolloongabba • Collins Place, South Brisbane • Coronation Hotel, 48 Montague Rd, West End • Phoenix Buildings, 647 Stanley St • Plough Inn, South Brisbane • Princess Theatre • Shop Row, 609-617 Stanley St, Woolloongabba • Thomas Dixon Centre, West End <p>education</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brisbane State High School, Block H • Somerville House <p>industrial</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • South Brisbane Dry Dock <p>religious</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • St Andrew's Anglican Church • Holy Trinity Anglican Church • St Nicholas Russian Orthodox Cathedral <p>residential</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Astrea, 19 Bank St, West End • Brighton Tce, 26-32 Sussex St, West End • Coorooman, South Brisbane • Hillyard's Shop House, 619-621 Stanley St

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nassagaweya, 37 Gray Rd, West End • Pollock's Shop House, 623-629 Stanley St, • Wanda Walla, 15 Gray Rd, West End
Criterion (b) the place demonstrates rare, uncommon or endangered aspects of Queensland's cultural heritage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Allgas Building, South Brisbane • Plough Inn, South Brisbane • Richard Randall's Studio, Musgrave Park • Somerville House • South Brisbane Dry Dock • South Brisbane Town Hall (former) • South Brisbane Railway Station • St Andrew's Anglican Church • Brisbane State High School, Block H • Astrea, 19 Bank St, West End • Brighton Tce, 26-32 Sussex St, West End • Coronation Hotel, 48 Montague Rd, West End • Davies Park, West End • Thomas Dixon Centre, West End • Boggo Road Gaol: No 2 Division • Hillyard's Shop House, 619-621 Stanley St • Former Woolloongabba Post Office • Phoenix Buildings, 647 Stanley St, Woolloongabba • Pollock's Shop House, 623-629 Stanley St • Princess Theatre • St Nicholas Russian Orthodox Cathedral
Criterion (c) the place has potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of Queensland's history	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • South Brisbane Railway Easement • Victoria Bridge (former) abutment
Criterion (d) the place is important in demonstrating the principal characteristics of a particular class of cultural places	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collins Place, South Brisbane • Coorooman, South Brisbane • Richard Randall's Studio, Musgrave Park • Somerville House • South Brisbane Dry Dock • South Brisbane Library (former) • South Brisbane Town Hall (former) • South Brisbane Railway Station • St Andrew's Anglican Church • Brisbane State High School, Block H • Astrea, 19 Bank St, West End • Brighton Tce, 26-32 Sussex St, West End • Coronation Hotel, 48 Montague Rd, West End • Nassagaweya, 37 Gray Rd, West End • Wanda Walla, 15 Gray Rd, West End • Thomas Dixon Centre, West End • Boggo Road Gaol: No 2 Division • Former Woolloongabba Police Station

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hillyard's Shop House, 619-621 Stanley St • Broadway Hotel, Woolloongabba • Former Woolloongabba Post Office • Phoenix Buildings, 647 Stanley St, Woolloongabba • Holy Trinity Anglican Church • Pollock's Shop House, 623-629 Stanley St • Princess Theatre • Shop Row, 609-617 Stanley St, Woolloongabba • St Nicholas Russian Orthodox Cathedral
Criterion (e) the place is important because of its aesthetic significance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Allgas Building, South Brisbane • Collins Place, South Brisbane • Coorooman, South Brisbane • Plough Inn, South Brisbane • Somerville House • South Brisbane Dry Dock • South Brisbane Library (former) • South Brisbane Town Hall (former) • South Brisbane Railway Station • St Andrew's Anglican Church • Victoria Bridge (former) abutment • Brisbane State High School, Block H • Astrea, 19 Bank St, West End • Brighton Tce, 26-32 Sussex St, West End • Coronation Hotel, 48 Montague Rd, West End • Davies Park, West End • Wanda Walla, 15 Gray Rd, West End • Thomas Dixon Centre, West End • Boggo Road Gaol: No 2 Division • Former Woolloongabba Police Station • Shop Row, 609-617 Stanley St • Hillyard's Shop House, 619-621 Stanley St, • Pollock's Shop House, 623-629 Stanley St, • Phoenix Buildings, 647 Stanley St, W'gabba • Broadway Hotel, Woolloongabba • Former Woolloongabba Post Office • Holy Trinity Anglican Church • Princess Theatre • St Nicholas Russian Orthodox Cathedral
Criterion (f) the place is important in demonstrating a high degree of creative or technical achievement at a particular period	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No places listed under this criterion
Criterion (g) the place has a strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group for social, cultural or spiritual reasons	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Somerville House • South Brisbane Library (former) • South Brisbane Town Hall (former) • St Andrew's Anglican Church

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Victoria Bridge (former) abutment • Brisbane State High School, Block H • Thomas Dixon Centre, West End • Former Woolloongabba Police Station • Broadway Hotel, Woolloongabba • Holy Trinity Anglican Church • Princess Theatre • St Nicholas Russian Orthodox Cathedral
Criterion (h) the place has a special association with the life or work of a particular person, group or organisation of importance in Queensland's history	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Allgas Building, South Brisbane • Plough Inn, South Brisbane • Richard Randall's Studio, Musgrave Park • Somerville House • South Brisbane Dry Dock • South Brisbane Library (former) • South Brisbane Town Hall (former) • St Andrew's Anglican Church • Victoria Bridge (former) abutment • Coronation Hotel, 48 Montague Rd, West End • Nassagaweya, 37 Gray Rd, West End • Thomas Dixon Centre, West End • Broadway Hotel, Woolloongabba • Former Woolloongabba Post Office • Princess Theatre

LANDSCAPE ASSESSMENT

The determination of the valuable cultural landscapes in this case study included an assessment of the integrity and vulnerability of the existing landscape character. After reflection on the previous work (understanding the cultural context of the cultural landscapes, determining the valuable landscapes and this assessment of integrity/vulnerability), a final statement of cultural values was prepared for the South Brisbane area.

Seven qualities of the character of the landscape were considered and presented in the following Table 5.6: broad bio-geophysical elements; broad cultural overlays; abstract visual qualities; broad sensory elements; narrative qualities; meanings and experiences to insiders; and, meanings and experiences to outsiders.

The ratings of these qualities regarding integrity (I) and vulnerability (V) were either low (L), medium (M), or high (H). Finally, an assessment is presented of the overall integrity and vulnerability of the nominated valued cultural landscape.

Table 5.6
INTEGRITY of the NOMINATED VALUED CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

CHARACTER OF THE LANDSCAPE	DESCRIPTION OF COMPONENTS	I	V
BROAD BIO-GEOPHYSICAL ELEMENTS	The South Brisbane study area occupies a wide peninsula within a broad meander of the tidal reaches of the Brisbane River. A prominent east-west ridge (Dornoch Terrace) dominates the topography, with a second ridge just to the north, and a prominent spur running parallel to the Milton Reach of the River. These ridges make the topography quite hilly and steep in parts. To the south of the main ridge are cliffs and high river banks overlooking the St Lucia Reach. The remaining flats form part of the floodplain. The original vegetation has been cleared and lagoons filled, as described below.	L to M	H
BROAD CULTURAL OVERLAYS	The natural resources that supported the original Aboriginal inhabitants and their visitors have been substantially modified, including the river itself. Significant lagoons in the floodplain were landfilled for development by the mid-19 th century. Almost all the original lush vegetation has been cleared, except for a large gully or ravine running into the St Lucia Reach. Cultural plantings have replaced the original vegetation on most public and private land. All of the riverbanks in the study area have been modified for residential, road, port and recreational development, with the lowest level of modification being where residential areas have absolute river frontage. The area is one of the earliest developed and densest urban-suburban areas in Queensland; it is also one of the Queensland's most diverse urban areas in terms of land use mix, ethnicity and socioeconomic status. This diversity has shaped and been shaped by a particularly diverse built form. The area contains significant public institutions and facilities serving the entire metropolis, region and State.	M to H	H
ABSTRACT QUALITIES landmark qualities and landscape consistency	Form is varied, dominated by the prominent ridgeline, secondary ridge and spurs. The vertical relief of the ridge is accentuated by the landmark high-rise Torbreck apartment building. The many other landmarks include The Gabba (stadium), Mater Hospital, Boggo Road Gaol, St Andrew's church, Trinity Church, St Lawrence's School, Qld Cultural Centre, Wm Jolly Bridge, Merivale Bridge, Paul's and Pioneer signs viewed from across the River, former gas tower, Stefan's Needle, former South Brisbane Town Hall and other buildings in the former civic precinct, hoop pines, Cumbooquepa (now Somerville House), and its fig trees. The river flats accentuate the ridges by contrast. New high-rise luxury apartments near the river (adjacent to Captain Cook Bridge) create contrast with the horizontality of the River, and with the subservience to natural topography demonstrated by the majority of the built form of the area. Throughout the area, there is contrast between buildings of different size and scale, age and use. Because of the hilly topography, much of the area is visible from many internal and external vantage points. There is a general sense of buildings set within treed grounds and streets, creating a varied texture.	H	H

CHARACTER OF THE LANDSCAPE	DESCRIPTION OF COMPONENTS	I	V
BROAD SENSORY ELEMENTS Sight, smell, sound, touch, taste, seasonally, experiential, spiritual	See above for visual elements. Seasonality is evident in the jacarandas near Paul's, in the use of South Bank's Clem Jones Promenade for festival events, and in the sound of crowds attending winter football and summer cricket at the Gabba. The smell of hops from the XXXX Milton Brewery is a common morning smell in West End. Other smells are very local, particularly garden scents, and the smell of coffee and food in Boundary St. Community art, such as the goanna in Boundary St and the cricket-inspired street furniture in the Stanley St retail strip, contributes experiential richness. The West End and Woolloongabba areas have spiritual significance to Aborigines within and outside the area. In a broader spiritual sense, a speaker at the formation meeting of the Kurilpa Community Protection Society in 1997 claimed that West End (together with Byron Bay, Newtown and Brunswick) was a place of special energies conducive to rich alternative lifestyles. For some immigrant groups, the area contains the first, the only or the main place of worship for their group in Brisbane, e.g. Greek Orthodox and Lebanese Melkite.	H	H
NARRATIVE QUALITIES	The Brisbane River, its floods and bridges, have long been influential in local literature. Several writers were educated at Brisbane State High School. Two of Vance Palmer's 1950s books dealt with a union organiser, evoking the subtropical climate, a bordello 'on the south side', a stabbing by a migrant worker, and the sound and smell of sugar boats at the wharves (Pierce 1993:161). In Ciena Rohan's 1962 writing, 'half-caste' prostitutes use a beat outside South Brisbane Station, and houses in West End have overgrown gardens (ibid, 162). David Malouf's quintessential Queensland architecture and social life depictions derive from his growing up in Edmondstone Street. Current colloquial myths include West End as an alternative lifestyle haven and as a place of conflict between ideals of diversity and those of gentrification and exclusiveness.	M	H
Meanings / experiences to insiders	The strongest insider meanings are of the area as a place of cultural and socioeconomic diversity, a place of numerous communities.	H	H
Meanings / experiences to outsiders	The outsider meaning of 'the south side' as a seedy and dangerous place is losing its dominance as new meanings relating to affluent lifestyles and gentrification become stronger. Recognition of 'multicultural West End' as a multicultural community is being fashioned as an asset for the real estate and property industries.	M	H

ASSESSMENT OF OVERALL INTEGRITY AND VULNERABILITY OF Nominated Valued Cultural Landscape (SOUTH BRISBANE)	<p>The study area is diverse in most aspects, and the maintenance of diversity is the greatest area of vulnerability.</p> <p>The greatest threats to its integrity lie in rising property values and rents leading to the area becoming accessible only to wealthy people. The loss of boarding houses in the 1990s has been the most noticeable impact on the diversity. Other threats are associated with the risk that obsolete industrial premises along the Milton Reach may be lost as future workplaces due to their immediate value as potential sites for the development of luxury riverfront housing.</p> <p>Constant change has been a feature of South Brisbane's historical development in the past 175 years. The current period of regeneration after decades of decline presents both opportunities and threats to its integrity.</p>
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UNDERSTANDING THE MANAGEMENT CONTEXT

The understanding of the management context for this case study area includes recognising key issues of concern and the key management values that provide suitable management pathways. With this understanding and method, a set of management proposals was developed.

ISSUES OF CONCERN

Several ISSUES OF CONCERN that impact the management of landscapes with cultural values have been identified for the whole of Queensland. There are other issues specific to the local case study area. The following section discusses both these sorts of issues related to South Brisbane.

(A) Overarching Issues of Concern for Queensland's Cultural Landscapes

1. MIXED VALUES (Cultural and Natural)
The diverse natural landscapes ranging from tropical rainforests to arid deserts have deep cultural significance for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities. There is also cultural significance for the non-Aboriginal peoples of Australia. The cultural meanings and values attributed to the natural landscapes need to be understood and included in cultural landscape assessments.

CONCLUSION: The South Brisbane study area is of high cultural significance for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, including its role as a focus for continued resistance.

2. CONTESTED VALUES (Cultural, Mining, Forestry)

There are vast pastoral leases and forest reserves as well as areas of mineral extraction which contain historical relics, remnants and resources of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Current land uses and potential future ones are creating strongly contested or conflicting values in these places, including the implications of the recent Wik and Mabo cases.

CONCLUSION: Not relevant to the South Brisbane study area.

3. MIGRANT CULTURAL VALUES

Within the cultural landscapes of agricultural enterprises, dating from the mid 19th century to the present time, are reflections of the contributions made by the different migrant communities to Australia. The voluntary migrant groups include the Chinese community, Italian community, Maltese community, and German community to name but a few. There is also the role of the involuntary migrants, the South Sea Islanders, and their particular contribution to the cultural landscapes of Queensland. The migrant landscapes need to be understood and their heritage significance identified particularly as many of these areas occur on the coastal strip which is currently subject to intense development pressure.

CONCLUSION: Non-agricultural migrant issues are highly relevant to the South Brisbane study area.

4. LANDSCAPES OF DEFENCE

Queensland's landscapes are redolent with the history of defence, ranging from the sites of Indigenous resistance to occupation and associated sites of reprisal massacres to the more recent sites of defence associated with World War Two.

CONCLUSION: Of some relevance to the South Brisbane study area.

5. HERITAGE CONFLICTS

(between Natural and Cultural lobbies)

Finally, there are conflicting approaches to the management of heritage landscapes including the strong push by natural heritage lobbies to restore landscapes to a former 'natural' state, thus removing evidence of human activities.

CONCLUSION: Of some relevance to the South Brisbane study area.

(B) Specific Issues of Concern for the South Brisbane Cultural Landscape

- Loss of diversity, richness and complexity as a result of continued or accelerated gentrification. Luxury apartments versus boarding houses and cheap rentals; gentrification versus socioeconomic and cultural inclusion. "Lovable eccentrics and riff-raff" versus yuppies and dinks (Brian Laver, *Neighbourhood News* September 1999:1).
- Risk of further loss of diversity, richness and complexity through potential replacement of declining industrial areas by housing for a single social class.
- Risk of further loss of diversity, richness and complexity through loss of low-rental older shops and commercial premises would reduce the opportunity for a wide range of retail activities and for community organisations to establish or continue in the area.

MANAGEMENT PATHWAYS

The final section about management contains three sets of findings related to searching for appropriate management pathways:

1. Identifying the Key Management Values;
2. Management Considerations and Objectives;
3. Management Proposals.

Together, these findings summarise the process of determining the appropriate management pathways for the conservation of cultural values in the South Brisbane area.

KEY MANAGEMENT VALUES for South Brisbane

SUMMARY STATEMENT OF CULTURAL VALUES:

The South Brisbane peninsula as a cultural landscape is considered to have high heritage value AS A WHOLE, as an area of physical, socioeconomic and cultural diversity in which many different groups interact. As one of

Queensland's oldest and densest inner urban areas, the peninsula demonstrates Brisbane's history of development from colonial outpost to postmodern capital city. The distinctiveness of the cultural landscape results from the area's changing economic fortunes and image over more than 170 years of development and redevelopment, during which the area has maintained a mix of uses, built form, economic values and access to a variety of socioeconomic groups.

Overarching Management Mission for Queensland's Cultural Landscapes

There are five key heritage values of relevance here (discussed in detail in Chapter 1 of this report):

1. Managing Land Systems
2. Living Heritage
3. Multiple Heritage Values
4. Specific Community Values
5. Landscape / Heritage Integrity

'TARGETED MANAGEMENT' CONSIDERATIONS for the South Brisbane Cultural Landscape

1. AVOIDING HOMOGENISATION

The South Brisbane peninsula cultural landscape is considered highly vulnerable to the homogenising potential of current trends to the gentrification of the residential, commercial and industrial areas. The outcome of such trends becoming uniform across the peninsula would be to reduce the diversity of people and activities due to rising property values and rents.

2. MAINTAINING EXISTING IDENTITY

The identity of South Brisbane, the former heart of the study area, is highly vulnerable to the commercial and colloquial expansion of the use of the names of South Bank and West End. The encroaching of these (now) more fashionable locality names appears to be for purposes of commercial benefit and social cache relating to the gentrification issue.

3. BROAD-SCALE CONSERVATION

The individual buildings and groups of buildings identified in the South Brisbane Heritage Study (BCC 1993a) and other

conventional heritage surveys can be conserved using the existing mechanisms of the Heritage Act and the Integrated Planning Act, providing that public demand is clearly heard. The broader overall characteristics of the South Brisbane peninsula, however, are more difficult to articulate and to transform into conservation management policy. This is an area where the Contested Terrains project might contribute significantly to heritage conservation knowledge and practice, particularly by demonstrating that "heritage" is not restricted to discrete and "precious" elements of the physical environment. Cultural landscapes are produced, maintained and/or transformed by numerous environmental management decisions (individual/ collective, private/public, formal/informal, major/incremental). Because of the breadth of concerns embodied in the South Brisbane Peninsula Cultural Landscape (and others), it is necessary to generate management strategies that are tied into the broader processes of environmental management and decision-making.

Table 5.7
MANAGEMENT CONSIDERATIONS & OBJECTIVES

STRATEGIC CONSIDERATIONS related to Management Mission Values	HERITAGE MANAGEMENT OBJECTIVES
1. MANAGING LAND SYSTEMS The relationship between the hilly topography (ridges, hills, gullies, vegetation) and the Brisbane River	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To maintain the integrity of the relationship between the hilly, vegetated, topography and the river.
2. LIVING HERITAGE The distinctiveness of the cultural landscape results from the area's continuing changes in economic fortunes, demographic make-up and image over more than 170 years of development and redevelopment.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To maintain the narrative of South Brisbane as an area of diversity in culture, demographics and built form. To articulate the key cultural landscape characteristics in terms of the language of the Integrated Planning Act (1997).
3. MULTIPLE HERITAGE VALUES <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increasing property values and rents are causing a loss of the socioeconomic and cultural diversity that has made South Brisbane distinctive in Queensland. Tensions between Greek and indigenous groups Tensions between incoming gentrifiers and the low income groups who have contributed to the distinctiveness and diversity of the area. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To develop management strategies that sustain occupation and use of the area by a broad socioeconomic and cultural demographic range. To maintain the narrative/myth of South Brisbane as an area of diversity in culture, demographics and built form.
4. SPECIFIC COMMUNITY VALUES The area has cultural heritage significance or value: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To indigenous people from the Brisbane area; To Indigenous people throughout Queensland To Queensland's Greek community; To other immigrant groups, particularly Chinese and Vietnamese people; Relating to the historical development of Brisbane and Queensland; and character-related heritage values to the incoming gentrifiers of the area. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To develop management strategies that sustain occupation and use of the area by a broad socioeconomic and cultural demographic range.
5. LANDSCAPE / HERITAGE INTEGRITY <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The identity of South Brisbane is highly vulnerable to expansion of the commercial and colloquial use of the names of South Bank and West End. The encroaching of these (now) more fashionable locality names appears to be for purposes of commercial benefit and social cache relating to the gentrification issue. The individual buildings and groups of buildings can be conserved using the existing mechanisms of the Heritage Act and the Integrated Planning Act, providing that public demand is clearly heard. The broader overall characteristics of the South Brisbane peninsula, however, are more difficult to articulate and to transform into conservation management policy. Because of the breadth of concerns embodied in the South Brisbane Peninsula Cultural Landscape (and others), it is necessary to generate management strategies that are tied into the broader processes of environmental management and decision-making. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To highlight the role of the South Brisbane locality in the heritage narrative of the cultural landscape of the entire South Brisbane peninsula. To tie the management strategies into the broader processes of everyday environmental management and decision-making regarding planning and development

Table 5.8
MANAGEMENT PROPOSALS FOR SOUTH BRISBANE

DESIRED KEY HERITAGE OUTCOMES	Overarching conventions, strategies, policies and instruments currently in place	ACTIONS to facilitate Desired Key Heritage Outcomes
<p>Responsibility for the management of heritage landscapes as environmental land systems:</p> <p>maintaining the integrity of the relationship between the hilly, vegetated, topography and the river</p>	<p>Global, National</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1992 Rio Earth Summit with further signing by Australia of a Statement of Commitment 1997 with particular reference to Agenda 21 <p>State</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Integrated Planning Act 1997 (IPA) <p>Local</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Draft City Plan (BCC 2000 forthcoming) • South Brisbane DCP (BCC 1993) • Draft West End Woolloongabba LAP (BCC 2000 forthcoming) • BCC Bushland Preservation Scheme 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prepare Local Agenda 21 strategy for implementation through IPA. • Review for desired environmental outcomes (DEOs) • Review draft City Plan and draft LAP for how they address IPA explanation of ecological sustainability (ss1.3.3, 1.3.6). • Council acquisition of remnant "natural" landscape in the Brydon St Gully using Bushland Preservation Levy
<p>Commitment to the concept of living and working heritage:</p> <p>Maintaining the narrative of South Brisbane as an area of diversity in culture, demographics and built form.</p>	<p>State</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Integrated Planning Act 1997 (IPA) • Queensland Heritage Act 1992 <p>Local</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Draft City Plan – eg Strategic Plan ss3.2.1-2 housing choice, diversity, access, affordability, mixed use development • South Brisbane DCP/LAP • Draft West End Woolloongabba LAP 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Undertake a Cultural Landscape Heritage Study to augment the 1992 Heritage Study • articulate the key cultural landscape characteristics in terms of the language of the IPA, particularly 'valuable features', 'DEOs' and performance indicators. • develop management strategies that sustain occupation and use of the area by a broad socioeconomic and cultural demographic range. For example, by maintaining a variety of lot sizes, building types, building ages, property values and rentals • Amend DEOs and performance indicators in City Plan and the forthcoming West End Woolloongabba LAP accordingly • Maintain work opportunities within the area by avoiding alienation by expansion of housing areas (eg Western Riverside Industrial Precinct MIBA)

DESIRED KEY HERITAGE OUTCOMES	Overarching conventions, strategies, policies and instruments currently in place	ACTIONS to facilitate Desired Key Heritage Outcomes
<p>Recognition of multiple, coexisting and occasionally contested heritage values.</p> <p>Sustaining occupation and use of the area by a broad socioeconomic and cultural demographic range.</p>	<p>National, State</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Native Title Act and related State Legislation • Integrated Planning Act 1997 (IPA) - s2.1.4 State, regional and local dimensions of planning schemes; "valuable features" • Queensland Heritage Act 1992 <p>Local</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Draft City Plan: Codes (commercial character buildings, community use, heritage places, residential character, residential design, short-term accommodation, Brisbane River Corridor); Planning Scheme Policies for Heritage Register and for Commercial and Community Impact Assessment. • South Brisbane DCP • Draft West End Woolloongabba LAP • 1999 Aboriginal lease of part of Musgrave Park 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop management strategies that sustain occupation and use of the area by a broad socioeconomic and cultural demographic range (as above). • Request that EPA Cultural Heritage Branch undertake a cultural landscape study - with participation of the relevant communities - of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal cultural landscapes • Initiate a project to work towards reconciling conflicts between Aboriginal and Greek cultural values in the Musgrave Park area
<p>Respect for specific community values</p> <p>Sustaining occupation and use of the area by a broad socioeconomic and cultural demographic range, including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indigenous people from Brisbane and throughout Queensland • The Greek community; • Other immigrant groups, particularly Chinese and Vietnamese people; • Those who value the historical development of Brisbane and Qld; and Different socioeconomic groups 	<p>Global</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • IUCN Zaire Resolution on the Protection of Traditional Ways of Life 1975 <p>National</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Australian Heritage Commission Act 1975 • Native Title Act and related State legislation <p>State</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Integrated Planning Act 1997 (IPA) - s2.1.4 State, regional and local dimensions of planning schemes; "valuable features" <p>Local</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Draft City Plan: Codes (community use, heritage places, residential character, residential design, short-term accommodation); Planning Scheme Policies for Heritage Register and for Commercial and Community Impact Assessment. • South Brisbane DCP/LAP • Draft West End Woolloongabba LAP • 1999 Aboriginal lease of part of Musgrave Park 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support Aboriginal efforts for consultation status under the Native Title Act. • Initiate a project to work towards reconciling conflicts between Aboriginal and Greek cultural values in the Musgrave Park area • Identify and list on the City Plan Heritage Register <i>precincts/places</i> (rather than individual buildings) of heritage significance to the Greek community, and precincts/places that demonstrate the significance of South Brisbane as one of Queensland's multicultural cultural landscapes.

DESIRED KEY HERITAGE OUTCOMES	Overarching conventions, strategies, policies and instruments currently in place	ACTIONS to facilitate Desired Key Heritage Outcomes
<p>Deference to the heritage integrity, both cultural and physical, innate in the land systems of Queensland</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> highlighting the role of the South Brisbane locality in the heritage narrative Tying the management strategies into the broader processes of everyday environmental management and decision-making regarding planning and development. 	<p>State</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Integrated Planning Act 1997 (IPA) - s2.1.4 State, regional and local dimensions of planning schemes; "valuable features" <p>Local</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Draft City Plan South Brisbane DCP/LAP Draft West End Woolloongabba LAP 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Review the forthcoming City Plan and West End Woolloongabba LAP to ensure that they effectively address the multiple values of the South Brisbane peninsula as a cultural landscape

A Summary of Findings

The South Brisbane peninsula as a cultural landscape has high heritage value as a whole, as an area of physical, socioeconomic and cultural diversity in which many different groups interact. As one of Queensland's oldest and densest urban areas, the peninsula demonstrates Brisbane's history of development from colonial outpost to postmodern capital city. The distinctiveness of the cultural landscape results from the area's changing economic fortunes and image over more than 170 years of development and redevelopment, during which the area has maintained a mix of uses, built form, economic values and access to a variety of socioeconomic groups. For Aboriginal people, the peninsula was one of Queensland's earliest sites of intensive interaction with, and resistance to, the European settlers of the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century it has continued as a site of resistance. The physical diversity of the built form and land use of South Brisbane peninsula has historically been matched by greater social diversity than has been common in most urban areas in Brisbane or Queensland. The area is significant for its accommodation of diverse socio-economic and cultural groups throughout the twentieth century.

Loss of diversity, richness and complexity are the main issues of concern facing the case study. This loss is related to gentrification and redevelopment issues, including the potential replacement of declining industrial areas by housing for a single social class, and the effect of escalating property values and rentals reducing the opportunity for a wide range of commercial and community activities to continue in the area.

The broad and multi-dimensional characteristics of the South Brisbane peninsula are beyond the scope of existing heritage conservation mechanisms. Consequently, cultural landscape management strategies must be tied into the broader processes of environmental management and decision-making.

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